

BABYLON AND ZION: BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND THE MORMONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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The work of 'mainstream' historians of religion tends to underestimate the importance of the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons, in Victorian England. This may be due to the fact that converts did not remain in this country to establish long-lasting churches. Rather it was part of their faith that they should leave England (Babylon) and emigrate to Utah (Zion). Mormon researchers have investigated the missions in the most important areas – the North West and Wales – but nothing has yet been written about Mormonism in Buckinghamshire. While on a smaller scale than in other parts of England, Mormon activity in this and adjacent counties raises important questions. This article seeks to explore the roles of missionaries and converts, to identify the main Mormon centres, and to explore local responses. In particular it investigates the origins of those who were drawn to a highly controversial new faith, one that ultimately required them to abandon their local roots and embark on a hazardous journey to Utah. The author, himself a member of the LDS church, is descended from Ivinghoe and Wing Mormons.

'LABOURING WITH GOOD SUCCESS': A FORGOTTEN STORY

On Wednesday 3 June 1863, Charles Dickens was among a party of curious visitors who drove to the London New Dock basin, just south of Shadwell Church. The visitors gathered to view a rather unusual emigrant ship and to talk to some of its equally unusual passengers. The *Amazon*, the ship chartered by the Mormon Missions to Britain, was about to leave for New York, the first stage of a much longer journey to the Great Salt Lake Valley.¹ Dickens, who believed there were some eight hundred Mormon emigrants aboard, recorded his impressions in an article entitled 'Bound for the Great Salt Lake' and published it in *All the Year Round*.² He contrasts the chaos, squalor and violence of the dockland area with the neatness, calm and order on the *Amazon* and recounts a conversation with the Captain (H K Hovey). Hovey asked Dickens how he would describe the passengers had he not known they were Mormons. Dickens (the Un-commercial Traveller) memorably replied 'I should have said they were in their degree, the pick and the flower of England'. A Mormon agent explained that most of the passengers came from the South of England, although some were from

Wales. Dickens then spoke to a farm labourer from Wiltshire and to several other emigrants. He noted that many were busy writing. At the end of the article Dickens admits that his visit to the *Amazon* had confounded all his expectations. He had gone on board expecting to bear testimony against the Mormons, 'if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would'. But to his 'great astonishment, they did not deserve it; and my predispositions and tendencies must not affect me as an honest witness'.

There is another account of the *Amazon's* departure, one that appeared in the Mormon newspaper, *The Millennial Star*. The two versions correspond closely, although the article in *The Millennial Star* – which gives the more precise figure of '895 souls of the Saints' – contains additional details. Dickens and his party were themselves being observed and *The Millennial Star* notes that the visitors appeared surprised by the careful attention given to the arrangements for the voyage announced by the 'President', 'displaying as it did, something so different from their conceptions of us as a people'.³

The Millennial Star mentions several Mormons on board the *Amazon* by name. Some of these can be shown to have had links with Buckinghamshire or neighbouring counties. This was certainly true of the President of the ship, Elder William Bramall,

the most important Mormon on the *Amazon*. Bramall was a former President of the Bedfordshire Conference of the British Mission, an area that included Buckinghamshire. Another important figure was Elder Thomas Crawley, Bramall's successor as president of the Bedfordshire Conference. Crawley was one of the 'native Elders' now going to 'Zion' for the first time. After spending some time 'labouring in the Norwich and Cambridgeshire Conferences' and in Ireland, Crawley had been on the point of emigrating but was instead appointed to the Bedfordshire Conference, 'where he has continued up to his present release'. Another individual on board with ties to Buckinghamshire was George Cheshire⁴ of the Edlesborough Branch, and there were almost certainly others.

It is true that Buckinghamshire was by no means the chief centre of Mormon missionary activity in nineteenth-century Britain. Organisation was based in Liverpool, the usual port of arrival for missionaries and for the departure of Mormon emigrants. Tracts, hymnbooks and *The Millennial Star* were also printed in Liverpool for distribution else-

where. Although the core of missionary activity was in the Northwest and in Wales, there was still a Mormon presence in Buckinghamshire. Since that time, all this has been forgotten and even present members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints have expressed surprise, almost disbelief, when told there were Mormons in Buckinghamshire as early as the 1840s. Perhaps the subsequent ignorance of their missions may be attributed to a desire, conscious or unconscious, on the part of non-Mormons, to remove something they regarded as distasteful from the county's collective memory. It is unlikely, for example, that many of the squires and parsons, who dominated the early days of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, would have been sympathetic.

Unlike other churches, the 'Saints' in Britain did not try to put down local roots. Church Leaders in Utah advanced the cause of 'Zion' by encouraging all members to 'gather.' In fact, this became an official doctrine of the Church as taught by Prophet-president Joseph Smith: 'Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be

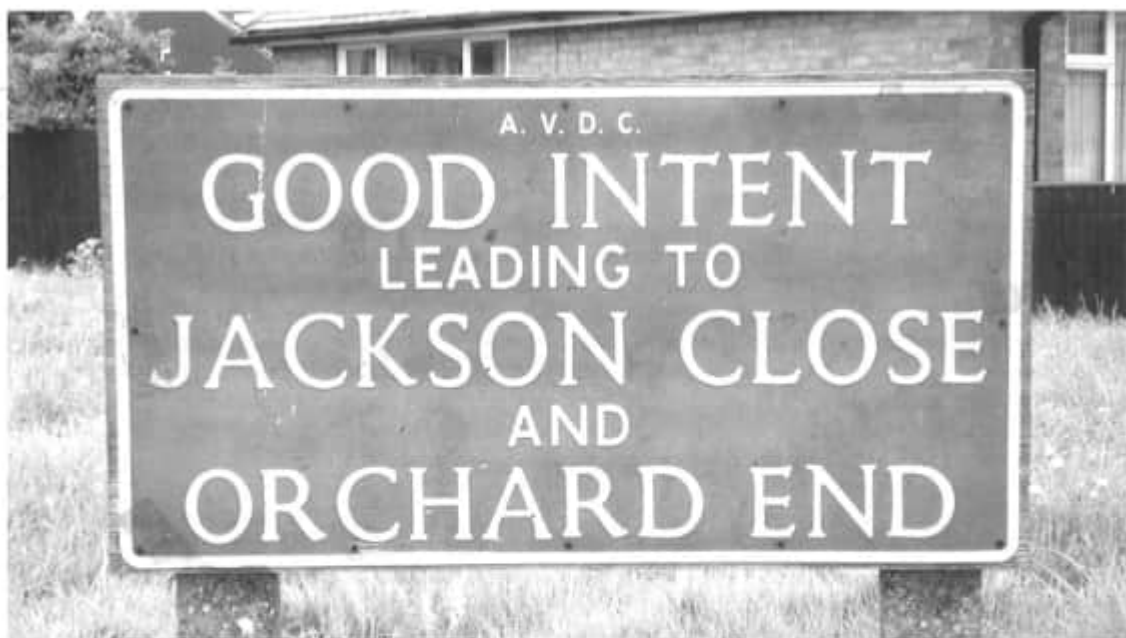


FIGURE 1 The sign identifying the location of the building mentioned in the census, used for services by the Edlesborough Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked.⁵ Like other non-conformist religious movements of the time, the Latter-day Saints embraced the philosophies of Millennialism and Chartism. However, these only complemented one of their more central messages, which was not only a significant portion of the text of missionaries serving in England,⁶ but actually became part of the canon of scripture for Latter-day Saints:

Go ye out of Babylon; gather ye out from among the nations, from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. Send forth the elders of my church unto the nations which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea; send forth unto foreign lands; call upon all nations, first upon the Gentiles, and then upon the Jews. And behold, and lo, this shall be their cry, and the voice of the Lord unto all people: Go ye forth unto the land of Zion, that the borders of my people may be

enlarged, and that her stakes may be strengthened, and that Zion may go forth unto the regions round about. Yea, let the cry go forth among all people: Awake and arise and go forth to meet the Bridegroom; behold and lo, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Prepare yourselves for the great day of the Lord.⁷

Thus, out of necessity, the Church became an emigration agency of sorts. Those who joined were eager to leave 'Babylon' and embark on the perilous journey to 'Zion' as soon as possible. But some waited a while, either because they had to save money to pay for their passage and/or because the Church wanted them to stay to convert others. Ultimately, however, 'the men who planned the Mormon emigration felt it to be their duty to transport the largest possible number of converts.'⁸ Although they 'had to take into account... the costs of the journey in all their complicated variety; the limited resources of the British Mission; and the difficulties of employing, for their purposes, the resources of the Church in Utah,' church leaders



FIGURE 2 The Edlesborough Branch Meetinghouse formerly used by the Latter-day Saints

successfully planned, organized and facilitated the emigration of roughly 55,000 British converts in the nineteenth century.⁹

The extent of Mormon missionary activity in the area in the early 1860s, not long before the departure of the *Amazon*, may be gauged from a series of letters published in *The Millennial Star*: One, dated 'Hemel Hempstead, March 19, 1861,'¹⁰ is from Joseph Silver, recently replaced as president of the Bedfordshire Conference by Elder Bull. Silver explains that the Bedfordshire Conference included the counties of Bedford, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton and Buckingham. Although he had 'leave to go to Zion', Silver accompanied his successor on visits to several branches, 'preaching, more or less, nearly every night in the weeks as well as two or three times on the Sunday'. Silver and Bull travelled on foot, 'no easy task', considering the size of the area for which they were responsible. But they considered their privations worth bearing:

We have been received with marked respect, not only by the Saints, but by many out of the Church, some of whom will doubtless soon become members: indeed, some of them are already baptized. Several of our meeting-rooms are crowded to excess with anxious hearers; and from 100 to 150 have been known to be outside during the Sunday evening services.

After reminding himself not to forget his friends 'in Babylon' once he left for Utah, Silver pays generous tribute to those who have so repeatedly lodged, fed, clothed him and given him money. He concludes with a clear statement of faith:

I do know that it is essentially necessary that mankind should believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Son, and in the divine authority of Joseph Smith and his successors, repent sincerely of all their sins, and be baptized for the remission of the same, and then have hands laid upon them for the reception of the Holy Ghost – the Spirit of promise, which Spirit will make manifest to their minds the truth and actual necessity of gathering to 'Utah, far away,' or any other place indicated by the finger of God as the place of refuge from the calamities that are to come upon the wicked nations of the earth.

Further information is found in two letters from E H Blackburn.¹¹ Blackburn explains that Bull was 'labouring with good success.' The Bedfordshire Conference now contained fifteen branches. Five had halls for public worship while the remainder held meetings in private houses. The Conference was very widely scattered, with branches anywhere from ten to twenty-five miles apart. Meetings were well attended, with halls overflowing. There had been twenty-seven recent baptisms and others were forthcoming. Even some who left the Church officially, continued to attend meetings: 'The prospects are fair for a greater ingathering into the Church'. There were 920 Saints in the district, 'the great majority of whom are poor in this world's goods, but I am happy to say that they are rich in faith and are a willing and obedient people'. There was little potential for emigration the following year – probably not more than fifty people – 'but most of them will go all the way through'. Nor were the Mormons encountering much opposition: 'We have full freedom to preach the Gospel, and there is no spirit to mob at all. Many strangers attend our meetings'.¹² It is worthy of note that these letters exhibit a high degree of literacy and contain few, if any, grammatical errors.

THE FIRST BUCKINGHAMSHIRE MORMONS

On 31 July 1837, one day after the first Mormon¹³ baptisms in England, the original seven missionaries to work in England held a council in Preston. It was decided that Elders Willard Richards and John Goodson should go to Bedford,¹⁴ 'There being a good prospect, from the information received, of a Church being built up in that city.'¹⁵ They left on 1 August and arrived at Bedford the following day. Work progressed quickly. The first baptisms took place on 10 August¹⁶ and by December a Bedford Branch had been organized.¹⁷ Berrill Covington, later to play an important role in the beginnings of the Church in Buckinghamshire, was baptized in 1838 by Elder Willard Richards.¹⁸ He was instrumental in the conversion of two of the first nine Buckinghamshire natives¹⁹ and later became a member of the first branch organized on Buckinghamshire soil.²⁰

The first Buckinghamshire native to join the Church, based on extant baptismal and membership records, was a man named Samuel Smith.²¹

Samuel grew up in Sherington, Buckinghamshire. In 1837 he married Mary Ann Line from Hemel Hempstead.²² The couple remained at Hemel Hempstead for the first year of their marriage. Their first child was born at Hemel Hempstead but did not live. However, the Smith's first living child was born in Sherington, placing them there in 1839.²³ Records indicate they moved to London shortly afterwards. In London they met the future LDS (Latter-day Saints) Apostle and Church president, Elder Lorenzo Snow, who was then a proselytizing missionary. Elder Snow baptized Samuel on 26 December 1841.²⁴ Samuel's parents, Daniel William Smith and Sarah Wooding Smith, received instruction from the missionaries with him and were also baptized by Elder Lorenzo Snow at about the same time.²⁵ His wife was baptized later, in June 1842.²⁶ These two couples and their children subsequently moved to Liverpool to prepare for emigration,²⁷ and in 1843 they left England to join the Mormons in Nauvoo, Illinois.²⁸

The fourth Buckinghamshire native to join the Church came from the same family. George Smith, also born and raised in Sherington, was Daniel and Sarah's eldest son.²⁹ On 30 January 1842, he was baptised into the Mormon faith by Elder John W. Lewis at Hemel Hempstead. He was confirmed³⁰ a member by Elder Berrill Covington.³¹ George's baptism followed that of his younger brother Samuel and his parents by five weeks.³²

George Smith married Caroline Harrison in Hemel Hempstead on Christmas Day 1835. Their first child was born there in 1837. They moved to Great Missenden shortly afterwards and family history records indicate their next two children were born there in 1838 and 1840. However, George and Caroline Smith soon returned to Hemel Hempstead, where they had six more children between 1841 and 1850. It thus appears that the family was living in or around Hemel Hempstead during most of the 1840s – and certainly in 1842 when George joined the Church.³³ His wife Caroline finally joined on 20 May 1845, when she was baptised by Berrill Covington.³⁴ In April 1846, George was appointed President of the Hemel Hempstead Branch.³⁵ Shortly after, the family again relocated to Great Missenden and became members of the Aylesbury Branch, where they remained until they emigrated in 1854.³⁶ It is clear, therefore, that the first four natives of Buckinghamshire to join the Church were all members

of the Daniel William and Sarah Wooding Smith family from Sherington.

The next Buckinghamshire native to join the Church was George Coleman. George, who was also from Sherington,³⁷ married Elizabeth Bailey from Olney in 1834. They lived at Sherington from 1835 to 1840 and their first three children were born there. They relocated to Hemel Hempstead sometime after the birth of their third child. Family records indicate their next eight children were born in or around Hemel Hempstead between 1842 and 1859.³⁸ George joined the Church in 1845, and was also baptised by Berrill Covington. His wife was baptised later by George Smith in 1849.³⁹ George Coleman played a prominent role in the growth of the Church at Hemel Hempstead, with many of the baptisms in that branch being attributed to him.⁴⁰

James Hawkins, from Pitstone, Buckinghamshire, also joined the Church in Hemel Hempstead. He was baptised in October 1845, just a month after George Coleman, by Elder Elisha Hildebrand Davis. In 1846 Brother Hawkins became the first person to represent the Hemel Hempstead Branch at a Church conference held in London.⁴¹ He owned a bakery and a grocery store, which he sold to Samuel and Joy Claridge, thus enabling his family to emigrate in 1849.⁴²

The first six Buckinghamshire natives to join the Church were not converted within the county, but in places to which they had relocated – either Hemel Hempstead or London. Four of these men, Samuel and George Smith, George Coleman and James Hawkins were baptised prior to their wives and children, but all of their family members eventually joined the Church⁴³ and emigrated with them to America to help build Zion.⁴⁴ Five were brought into the Church through the efforts of elders from America – Lorenzo Snow, John W. Lewis, and E.H. Davis – while one of their conversions was brought about through the efforts of Berrill Covington, a recent and local convert. The involvement of recent converts in missionary activity established a pattern that continued in Buckinghamshire throughout the nineteenth century – a phenomenon that will be more closely examined later in this article.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE BRANCHES

At the General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held on 6 April 1844,

it was reported that there was a branch of eight members at Wolverton, Buckinghamshire.⁴⁵ As we have seen, the first three families with ties to Buckinghamshire to join the Church originally came from Sherington, only six miles from Wolverton. It is tempting to assume the membership of the branch at Wolverton, reported in 1844, was largely composed of the 'Sherington group'. Unfortunately, this appears impossible. The Daniel and Samuel Smith families emigrated in 1843,⁴⁶ and hence could not have been in Wolverton in 1844. The George Smith family was in Hemel Hempstead in 1844,⁴⁷ and the George Coleman and James Hawkins families were not baptized until 1845.⁴⁸ Apart from the reference to Wolverton at the Church's General Conference of 1844, no other evidence of the existence of this branch has yet come to light. Assuming the Conference was correctly informed and there was a branch at Wolverton, who could have belonged to it? Rapid social and economic change caused a good deal of internal migration in Britain. In 1836, Wolverton became the site of the locomotive works of the London & Birmingham Railway, mainly because it represented the mid-point between these two cities. The works grew rapidly and eventually employed over two thousand men. By 1845, the railway had built some two hundred houses for its workers, along with schools, a church and a market.⁴⁹ A thorough investigation of the activities of LDS missionaries reveals no evidence of any missionaries in the area around Wolverton and Sherington at this time. Of course, much missionary work was taking place in London and Hemel Hempstead. The most likely – though still speculative – explanation of the Wolverton Branch is that it must have consisted of a single family who joined the Church earlier, perhaps in London or Hemel Hempstead, and then relocated to Wolverton. They could possibly have come from even further afield, since some of the more highly skilled workers at Wolverton would have moved there from the North of England.

It was not until five years later, on 1 April 1849, that the first two branches of the Church in Buckinghamshire were established in Edlesborough and Simpson.⁵⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that the organisation of these two branches on the same day was other than coincidental. However, the geographical location of these branches is significant.

Missionaries had been working in the neighbouring county of Bedfordshire since 1837,⁵¹ and, although in Buckinghamshire, both Edlesborough and Simpson lie very close to its border with Bedfordshire. One unanswered question – one requiring further exploration – is why it took twelve years for Mormonism to take root in Buckinghamshire considering its rapid growth in neighbouring Bedfordshire. This question is particularly interesting when considered in conjunction with the fact that straw-plaiting was a major cottage industry in both eastern Buckinghamshire and western Bedfordshire.⁵² In fact, the chief centre of this handicraft industry was Luton,⁵³ Bedfordshire, where there was a robust branch of the Church, only seven miles from Edlesborough and the county boundary.⁵⁴

The Edlesborough Branch was actually a reorganization of an existing branch. A branch at Whipsnade, Bedfordshire was organized on 27 February 1848,⁵⁵ but became the Edlesborough Branch on 1 April 1849 after its relocation.⁵⁶ Edlesborough, right on the boundary between Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, is less than three miles from Whipsnade. Eaton Bray is directly next to Edlesborough, though on the Bedfordshire side of the boundary. Maps of the period suggest Eaton Bray and Edlesborough really formed one community⁵⁷ and it seems that, whatever the case elsewhere, the county boundary bore little significance. In many missionary and member journals the entire area is referred to as 'Eaton Bray,' even though a portion of it is technically Edlesborough. This can make it difficult for researchers to be sure exactly which village and county is being referred to, although most official church and government publications do make the distinction.⁵⁸

On 4 April 1846, Elder Elisha Hildebrand Davis, an American missionary and President of the London Conference, baptised Benjamin Johnson, a native of Northall, Buckinghamshire, in the small community of Whipsnade, Bedfordshire.⁵⁹ Whipsnade was less than eight miles north of Hemel Hempstead where Davis worked during the previous six months.⁶⁰ Benjamin's wife, Charlotte, also a Buckinghamshire native, was baptised three weeks later, on 27 April 1846,⁶¹ by Elder Thomas Squires, another local convert.⁶² Squires had been serving in the Hemel Hempstead Branch Presidency as a counselor to George Smith.⁶³

The Johnsons were somewhat atypical converts,

with an unusually high social status. It appears they were both educated and refined. Benjamin was described as an Oxford graduate and Charlotte had attended a girls' finishing school. Benjamin loved music and often earned money playing the bass violin. He also played other stringed instruments, the flute and the clarinet.⁶⁴ Charlotte was known for her passion for reading the classics and for memorising and reciting poetry.⁶⁵ Benjamin and Charlotte became the founding members of the Eaton Bray Branch,⁶⁶ and, with the exception of the traveling Elders, remained the only members of the Church in the area for over five months.⁶⁷ On 1 December 1846, Elder Squires ordained Benjamin an Elder, and Benjamin later served as the president of that branch.⁶⁸ As the Church began to grow in the area, the branch was divided and the Johnsons became the founding members of the Whipsnade Branch, and Benjamin again served as president.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the subsequent change in the Whipsnade Branch's name and its relocation to Edlesborough occurred at about the same time the Johnsons moved back to Northall, a hamlet of Edlesborough.⁷⁰

Unlike all other areas in Buckinghamshire, the Church grew quickly in the Eaton Bray-Edlesborough area. At its peak the Eaton Bray Branch consisted of seventy-seven members⁷¹, and the Edlesborough Branch, under the leadership of Benjamin Johnson, became even larger. It became the largest branch in nineteenth century Buckinghamshire, with over 160 members at its peak.⁷² The Edlesborough Branch was also the only LDS congregation in Buckinghamshire listed in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship. The Census record states: '170. Edlesborough Latter Day Saint Meeting Place. Erected before 1800.... On the 30th March Afternoon General Congregation 90; Evening General Congregation 100. Dated 31st March. Signed Benjamin Johnson, Presiding Elder, Northall Bucks.'⁷³ According to local histories⁷⁴ and historians,⁷⁵ the building mentioned in the census record was actually a public house called 'The Good Intent.' An adjacent pond was used for baptisms by immersion. The building is still standing and has since been converted into two private houses. Plate 1 shows a signpost that still exists by the building, and Plate 2 the building. An adjacent gravel area is reported to be the site of the baptismal pond.

It seems the real key to the phenomenal growth

of the Church in Edlesborough and Eaton Bray was not so much the impact of the American Elders, but rather the enthusiastic work of the locals who had themselves only recently joined the Church. In less than seven years (April 4, 1846 – March 27, 1853) Benjamin Johnson helped to bring more people into the Church than anyone else in nineteenth-century Buckinghamshire.⁷⁶ However, Johnson was only one of several local convert missionaries, all of whom enjoyed considerable success. It seems that once the American or local missionaries had organized a small branch, they appointed recently baptized converts as lay ministers, and relied on them to bring in additional converts. Thus, Benjamin Johnson was the only person the American Elder, Elisha Hildebrand Davis, actually baptised and confirmed in any of the three branches the Johnsons belonged to.⁷⁷ In other words, the Edlesborough Branch continued to grow and prosper because of the efforts of recently baptized members who began serving as missionaries, some immediately following their baptism.⁷⁸ In the Edlesborough Branch alone, Benjamin Johnson baptised thirty people, Robert Hodgert twenty-three people, George Smith fifteen, Berrill Covington twelve, John Mead, a priest, nineteen, and Samuel Impey, also a priest, twenty-six.⁷⁹ These missionaries did not confine their efforts to the Edlesborough Branch; Benjamin baptised nearly twenty people into the Eaton Bray and Studham Branches,⁸⁰ and all of the other local missionaries baptised members in nearby branches.⁸¹ Indeed, the heavy involvement of newly baptized converts was crucial to the growth of the Church throughout Buckinghamshire.

The Edlesborough Branch grew to be nearly four times larger than any other nineteenth century Buckinghamshire branch, and the extant records only span the years 1846–1849. Elder Robert Hodgert, a local convert who became a missionary, wrote of the success of the Church in this area: 'The work continued, steadily increasing; truth was triumphant; the word was confirmed with signs following, much to the astonishment of the people. The Truth had now taken deep root... Nothing else was talked about except this new doctrine and these men who are turning the world upside down.'⁸² By 1850, the growth of the Church in this area was formally recognised by Church leaders in London, and on 5 January of that year, Elder John Banks, then President of the London Conference, transferred

the Luton, Edlesborough, Flamstead, Hemel Hempstead and Studham Branches from the London to the Bedfordshire Conference.⁸³ Interestingly, this formal action, recorded in the Latter-day Saints' *Millennial Star*, is the last mention made of the Edlesborough Branch in any extant official or other historical document.⁸⁴ This could well be the result of the large number of Edlesborough Saints who emigrated between 1851 and 1868. Of the 163 names found on this branch record, seventy-seven can be identified as emigrants, representing 47 percent of the Branch's total membership. Most of these families emigrated through the Church's official emigration offices in Liverpool.⁸⁵ One noteworthy exception, the George Cheshire family, emigrated through London on the *Amazon*,⁸⁶ and an account of their emigration was included in Charles Dickens' *The uncommercial traveller*⁸⁷ mentioned above.

The other Buckinghamshire branch organized on 1 April 1849 was at Simpson. Elder Reed⁸⁸ formally organised this branch on the same day he baptised William Luck, his mother, Rosannah Button Luck, and Ellen Briant.⁸⁹ William's father John Luck and David Cowley were baptised shortly after,⁹⁰ and Cowley was appointed as the first Branch President.⁹¹ This branch was unlike the one at Edlesborough in two significant ways. Although Simpson is less than three miles from the Buckinghamshire/Bedfordshire boundary, there is no evidence to suggest that its origins had any links with LDS activities in neighbouring counties. Furthermore, the Church in the Simpson area encountered intense opposition from local landowners who did everything possible to frustrate missionary activities, trying to prevent the holding of public meetings and the establishment of a meeting place. The contrast with Edlesborough, where success must have owed something to the high status of the Johnson family, is striking.

Elder Job Smith, President of the Bedfordshire Conference, wrote of the difficulty encountered by members of the Church: 'proceeded next day to Simpson. Here is a small branch of the Church under the presidency of David Cowley. I staid at the house of William Luck. The landlords of all the saints houses here positively forbid any meetings being held therein, consequently I had to get the saints together in a covert manner and teach them.'⁹² (Original spelling retained). Although Elder Smith and other missionaries sought to min-

ister to the saints in this branch, the continued opposition to the Church is reflected in later journal entries. On 5 December 1852, Elder Smith wrote, 'Called at Simpson and comforted the few saints there,'⁹³ and on 30 May 1853, 'I... privately visited the Saints at Simpson.'⁹⁴

Despite opposition from local landlords, the Simpson Branch grew from the original three members to thirty-eight, with most of the growth occurring between 1849 and 1850.⁹⁵ As with the branches in the Edlesborough area, newly-baptised convert missionaries made a significant contribution. One notable example was William Luck, a young man who did not marry until after he emigrated to 'Zion' (Utah). Of the original thirty members of this branch, thirteen came into the Church as a result of Luck's efforts.⁹⁶ Although the extant record of the Simpson Branch only spans the years 1849–1853, other records of members in this area have been located.⁹⁷ An unprecedented twenty-nine of the eventual thirty-eight people recorded as members of this branch emigrated – an astoundingly high 76 percent compared to the emigration rates of other Buckinghamshire branches, which ranged from 37 percent to 47 percent.⁹⁸

One of the families that joined after 1853 was the Alexander George Sutherland family, of Stony Stratford. They converted in 1862 and emigrated the same year, eventually settling in Springville, Utah. Shortly before they left England, Alexander's wife, Frances, gave birth to a son, George Alexander Sutherland. Although George never embraced the faith, he later established himself as an attorney and politician in the state of Utah, and became the only Utahn to be appointed as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.⁹⁹

The third nineteenth-century Buckinghamshire branch was established at Wooburn Green. Although this branch was not officially organized until 22 August 1850,¹⁰⁰ it had its beginnings in 1849, just like the Edlesborough and Simpson Branches. Unlike those branches, however, Wooburn Green is on the southwestern side of Buckinghamshire. It did resemble the Edlesborough Branch in that its ultimate origins lay outside the county, in this case in Berkshire rather than Bedfordshire. The first converts to move to the Wooburn Green area were Thomas Tanner and his family, who had joined the Church in 1843, in their hometown of Newbury.¹⁰¹ Shortly after the Tanner family arrived in Wooburn Green in 1849, Thomas

followed the pattern established by many other Mormon converts; he began to share the message of the restored gospel with anyone who would listen. His efforts eventually led to the conversion of the first Wooburn Green natives: William and Susan Beesley and their son Ebenezer, who were all baptised by Tanner in September 1849.¹⁰² Initially, the Wooburn Green Mormons were attached to the Newbury Branch, but the substantial distance led to the establishment of a separate branch.¹⁰³ By 1850, membership of the Church in Wooburn Green had risen to thirty.¹⁰⁴ Many came into the Church through the efforts of American missionaries, but Tanner was responsible for ten conversions – thus following the pattern already seen at Edlesborough and Simpson.¹⁰⁵ Although Tanner had more experience in the Gospel, William Beesley was appointed as the first president of the Wooburn Branch.¹⁰⁶ This further illustrates the point that the involvement of recent converts was one of the keys to the growth of the Church in Buckinghamshire.

Even though the members at Wooburn Green experienced serious opposition, similar to that encountered at Simpson, the Wooburn Branch was able to meet in public. Although a meetinghouse is not reported in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship,¹⁰⁷ a local trade directory of 1853 indicates that, among the other Churches in Wooburn Green, the Mormons also had a place of worship.¹⁰⁸ It is identified as a 'Mormon Chapel.'¹⁰⁹ While this building was not a dedicated church house as such, it is still standing. By carefully calculating the route taken by the census taker, using known landmarks that existed then and still exist today (for example, 'The Red Lion Inn' Public House)¹¹⁰ it was possible to conjecture that the Mormons met in a house occupied by Henry Hancock and his family. Henry was a member of the Church and the second president of the Wooburn Branch, and appears in the Wooburn Green Census Records for the years 1851 and 1861.¹¹¹ This information is especially interesting because the 1861 census records that a 'Minister of the Latter-day Saints', named



FIGURE 3 The residence of the Henry Hancock family which was also used for church services, mentioned in Mussen and Craven's 1863 Trade Directory

George Alfred Wiscombe, was living with the Hancock family. It is thus highly likely that Hancock's house was used for church meetings and may well have been the 'Mormon Chapel' mentioned in the trade directory of 1853. Further evidence is provided by an entry in the life history of Henry Hancock's eldest daughter Sarah. This states, 'Church leaders in Wooburn held meetings in the Hancock home.'¹¹² Additionally, this home is included in the local Historical Site index as 'No. 36' on 'The Green' in Wooburn¹¹³ verifying that it existed when a 'Mormon Chapel' was listed in *Mussen and Craven's Commercial Directory* noted above. Plates 3 and 4 show the Hancock residence, which doubled as the 'Mormon Chapel' (No. 36 on The Green), and the 'Red Lion Inn'.

Life for members of the Church in Wooburn Green was not easy. For a while, at least, they had to contend with aggressive anti-Mormon campaigns. Revd. F. B. Ashley, Vicar of Wooburn, wrote in his Personal Memoirs:

The Mormonites were very active long before I came, in the neighbourhood and in the parish,

and at that time a priest used to preach on Sundays for three-quarters of an hour at the signpost between the Vicarage and the church. I cautioned all I could not to stop or take any notice, but it was a real nuisance when the Holy Communion was administered, for his voice was strong, and he supposed all had left the church.... I heard one day that the Independent minister... went up to him; the result was a challenge to a public discussion on Wooburn Green the following Thursday. I was sorry, and called a meeting of teachers and communicants for that evening and put a sketch of the subject before them. Platforms were erected on the Green, four Mormon preachers were brought from London, and my fears were realized. The well-meaning challenger was a novice in the matter; the Mormons had a happy hit in reply to anything he said; he appeared to be beaten, and two houses for Mormon preaching were opened on the Green for week-days as well as Sundays.

My policy had been not to notice the subject, it was so unworthy, but the new revelation took readily; numbers joined, and the crowds that



FIGURE 4 A local landmark dating back to 1863, which helped establish the validity of the theory used in identifying Henry Hancock's place of residence

came could not be seated. As general attention had everywhere been drawn to the movement, it would not do to appear blind. The next Sunday morning ... I went to Church not having made my mind what to do, but after the service I gave notice that I would give a lecture on Mormonism in the school-room the following Thursday. It caused great excitement... I sallied out on Thursday evening, and found the road and the room blocked with people. A mill-owner who was amongst them came to me and offered his Sol-room, which was perfectly empty, and would hold a great number standing.... By the time I got to the Sol-room it was... crammed to the door. With difficulty a small table and a cask to put on it got inside, I then mounted, and kept them listening for two hours. The quiet was intense, and I could hear nothing but now and then a gasp of sensation and the scratching of the Mormon reporters' pens.¹¹⁴

Reverend Ashley's anti-Mormon lectures were eventually published¹¹⁵ and multiple editions circulated.¹¹⁶ His pamphlet, *Mormonism: An exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called 'The Latter-day Saints'* attacks the prophet-leader Joseph Smith, the 'Golden Plates' from which the 'Book of Mormon' was purportedly translated, and other 'Mormon Doctrines' and 'Mormon Attractions.' Ashley's arguments corresponded closely to other contemporary anti-Mormon tracts published elsewhere in England but his pamphlet seems to be the only example of such tracts to have been written by a Buckinghamshire clergyman.¹¹⁷ Ashley describes Joseph Smith as a 'false prophet' who 'lived a vagrant life with no honest employment,' spent his days looking for buried treasure through supernatural means and was adept at deceiving others into believing his pretended revelations. Ashley recounts accounts of the purported disputes between Mormons and government officials and citizens in the states of Missouri and Illinois. Ashley accuses Joseph Smith and his followers of treason, the attempted murder of the ex-governor of Missouri, and other atrocities. He seeks to discredit the Book of Mormon by describing it as a piracy of Solomon Spaulding's work *Manuscript Found*. He also criticizes the Mormon belief that God has a physical being, asserting that such a belief is incompatible with the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

But Ashley was not alone; anti-Mormon senti-

ments were expressed in the *Bucks Free Press*. These reports included accounts of the Mormons in Utah purportedly rising up in treason against the United States government, allegations of public encouragement of immorality, and comments on the supposedly pitiable condition of 'innocent and deceived' emigrants who were leaving England for Utah.¹¹⁸ It is interesting that the *Bucks Free Press* was so hostile. The paper had a large Non-conformist readership and there are certainly suggestions that many of the Mormon converts were previously members of Dissenting Chapels rather than of the Church of England. It is striking that, while Revd Ashley eventually decided that he must 'take the Mormons on', his initial inclination had been to ignore them; the first challenge to a debate had come from the Independent Minister.

Despite the opposition, the members in Wooburn Green appeared to be content with their new-found religion and lifestyle. In contrast to the somewhat depressed journal entries of Elder Job Smith in the Simpson area, a letter written by Elder Samuel Stephen Jones in 1872 reports, 'We have a very fair, lively branch at Woburn, Bucks... The saints are rather more numerous [than in other areas]... and evince a good lively spirit.'¹¹⁹ Another missionary, Elder James Payne, wrote that in 1876 he was 'laboring with great joy in the London Conference... On this tour I first visited Wooburn Green; held meeting and rebaptized 4 persons.'¹²⁰ These letters are surprisingly positive, especially as elsewhere in England, the fortunes of the Church were declining by the 1870s. This was probably due to the effects of religious persecution associated with anti-polygamy campaigns, alleged problems in Utah, and perhaps most of all, to general apathy and lack of religious fervor in England.¹²¹ It is possible that relatively favourable conditions at Wooburn Green may have reduced incentives to emigrate, although other factors, to be discussed later, were also at work. Of the thirty original members, only thirteen (43 percent) can be identified as having emigrated.¹²² Included among those who did not emigrate were William Beesley, the first president of the Wooburn Branch, and his wife Susannah.¹²³ However, the second branch president, Henry Hancock,¹²⁴ and his wife Esther did emigrate.¹²⁵ Interestingly, Ebenezer Beesley, son of the first branch president, married Sarah Hancock, daughter of the second branch president. The young couple emigrated in 1859¹²⁶ and settled in

Salt Lake City. Ebenezer had shown great promise as a musician from his early years, and after moving to Utah he continued his musical training. He eventually became a renowned director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.¹²⁷ In fact, the current edition of the LDS hymnbook attributes the tunes of thirteen hymns to Ebenezer Beesley,¹²⁸ including Hymn no. 76, which is sung to a tune Beesley named 'Wooburn Green.'¹²⁹

On 7 March 1852, the final nineteenth-century Buckinghamshire branch of record was organised at Aylesbury. Like other Buckinghamshire branches, this congregation was located near the boundary of another county; Aylesbury is close to the 'tongue' of Hertfordshire, which comes within a few miles of the town. Like Simpson, membership of the Aylesbury Branch did not result from a migration of recently baptized members, but rather from the efforts of missionaries sent to the area. One of these missionaries, Elder Job Smith, then president of the Bedfordshire Conference, wrote of the significant challenges they faced. His entry of 5 March 1852 reads:

Went to Buckingham to visit Elder E.W. Tullidge, one of the traveling elders sent from our conference at Bedford to raise up a branch of the Church. Found him at the house of a deist. I soon learned that he had forsaken his mission and Mormonism; and that he was now a disbeliever in all revealed religion. I reasoned with him but soon found that it was altogether in vain. He expressed disbelief in the Prophet Joseph Smith, in the present authorities and the whole system and in respect to God, he did not know anything of him, but 'if he were consumed in hell by him he would then rise up and damn him.' At Brother Underwood's the same evening I excommunicated him from the Church. And this at his own request. Next day proceeded to Aylesbury where Elder [William] S. Cope was laboring. He had labored here eight months and baptized 5 persons. A very dull prospect presented itself, but as a family that were scattered at another place were about to move thither it was concluded to organize a branch which was done the 7th [of] March. I endeavored to get a congregation to preach to, by sending the bellman round town, etc., but could not get anybody to come.¹³⁰

A month later, Elder Smith records:

Visited Brother Cope and in consequence of his ill health released him from this labors in the ministry.... Next day proceeded to Buckingham. Found Brother Underwood discouraged. Counseled him to move to a branch of the Church; he said he would. Next day went to Aylesbury. Found Brother Cope trying to heal up difficulties in that young branch which he had raised. Here we had a meeting and cut off two members at their own request; tried to do the best I could to set matters straight with them but I found that the elements were not there for a good branch of the Church.¹³¹

The Aylesbury Branch record, which covers the years 1851–1853, only lists the names of three of the first five members baptised by Elder Cope, corroborating Smith's story of excommunication.¹³² Providentially, the 'family that was scattered at another place' but which was 'about to move thither' was the George Smith family.¹³³ As noted previously, George had joined the Church a decade earlier in Hemel Hempstead and served as the president of that branch. His family had already lived at Great Missenden from 1838–1840 and when he returned there sometime after the organisation of the Aylesbury Branch, he brought not only his large family of twelve,¹³⁴ but also his missionary zeal and considerable church leadership experience. He had already brought nine people into the Hemel Hempstead and Studham Branches,¹³⁵ and upon arriving in Aylesbury, he brought an additional sixteen people into the Church, including some of his own family. His efforts helped the branch to grow from five members to thirty in two years.¹³⁶ As in the other three branches examined above, most missionary work and convert baptisms in the Aylesbury Branch resulted from the efforts of native English member-missionaries.

George Smith's missionary efforts clearly had a positive effect on the general morale of the members and missionaries, and made an impression on the local community. On Sunday, 12 December 1852, only seven months after the Smith family relocated to Great Missenden, Elder Job Smith wrote, 'Visited Brother George Smith of Great Missenden. Held a meeting and had a good congregation to hear me. Next day visited the saints at Aylesbury.'¹³⁷ On 16 January 1853, Elder Smith

noted he had 'received letters of success of Elder [Richard] Aldridge in Aylesbury'¹³⁸ who had baptised seven more people. On 29 March 1853 he wrote: 'Preached at Aylesbury. Brother Aldridge is laboring here and in Buckingham. Next day proceeded to Buckingham. Found E.W. Tullidge rebaptized, married and housekeeping, and opening his house for meeting. I was much pleased with this, for although he broke loose before, he is a young man of singular and peculiarly adapted talents.'¹³⁹

Elder Job Smith's assessment of Elder Tullidge proved to be accurate though perhaps only to a certain degree. Tullidge eventually emigrated to America,¹⁴⁰ and after arriving in Utah, he pursued an ambitious career in publishing, both in Utah and on the East Coast. His career had many ups and downs, and sadly, towards the end of his life he became destitute. While still a Mormon, he continued to publish articles and books hostile towards the Church and its leaders. He was finally excommunicated a second time, again at his own request. Tullidge's opinions vacillated wildly, once more repeating the instability he had shown at Buckingham. Yet Elder Smith was right to say that Tullidge possessed 'peculiarly adapted talents,' which would be demonstrated in his biographies of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and perhaps most of all in his *History of Salt Lake City*.¹⁴¹

In 1854 George Smith's family of twelve – who represented 40 percent of the membership of the Aylesbury Branch – emigrated at the request of church leaders in Utah, and became the only members listed in the Aylesbury Branch record to do so.¹⁴² George and Caroline eventually settled in what they called 'Pleasant Valley,' Nevada. A biographical sketch of George reads: 'Mr. Smith was

one of the first, if not the first white man to settle along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; and by indomitable will and great energy, has accomplished what very few men could have done. The danger surrounding such an early settlement among the Indians cannot be fully portrayed.'¹⁴³

Although official branch records indicate that only the Smith family emigrated, other sources suggest there were at least five other people who joined this small branch and emigrated after 1854. The Latter-day Saints *Millennial Star* paid tribute to a sister named Amelia Mary Champneys, born in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. She died in Ogden, Utah in 1893 at the age of 36, and was reported to have been 'a faithful Latter-day Saint' her entire life. She emigrated with her husband, Thomas, who was also a member.¹⁴⁴ In addition, Robert Price and his older siblings Samuel and Matilda emigrated in 1855, one year after the Smiths. Robert was baptised at Great Missenden, in 1853, and after emigrating, returned to England to serve as a missionary and upon his return to America was called as the bishop in Paris, Idaho.¹⁴⁵

ANALYSIS

MISSIONARIES AND CONVERTS

As can be seen in Table 1, missionary work and convert baptisms in nineteenth-century Buckinghamshire followed a relatively consistent pattern. Each branch began when missionaries from America converted a small group of key individuals who, almost immediately following their baptisms, began proselytizing their friends and neighbours.

TABLE 1 Buckinghamshire Convert Baptisms and Associated Missionary Efforts

Branch Name	Converts by American Missionaries	Converts by Native Missionaries	Converts-Missionary not listed	Total Membership
Edlesborough	19	125	19	163
Simpson	10	13	15	38
Wooburn	9	10	11	30
Aylesbury	12	16	7	35
Totals	50	164	52	266

The initial efforts of the American missionaries brought a small group into the Church and a branch was formed; this was followed by a larger group of converts resulting from the efforts of the newly baptized 'member-missionaries.'

This research not only takes into account those who joined one of the four Buckinghamshire branches for which records exist, but also those who were born in Buckinghamshire but were members of other branches elsewhere in England.¹⁴⁶

SEX AND AGE AT BAPTISM

The tables below show the sex, gender and age of members at the time of their baptism. The total numbers in both charts does not agree because information regarding the age of each new convert was not available.

Table 2 shows the total number of females exceeding the total number of males by 6 percent. Table 3 indicates that over 80 percent of converts for whom this information was available were adults at the time of their baptism.

Table 2 Gender of Converts

Age	Number	Percent
Male	175	47%
Female	194	53%
Total	369	100%

TABLE 3 Age at the Time of Baptism

Age	Number	Percent
8-17 yrs. Old	44	19%
18-30 yrs. Old	93	41%
31+ yrs. Old	90	40%
Total	227	100%

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF CONVERTS

Those joining the Church in Buckinghamshire were almost exclusively from the poor or labouring classes. Trade Directories provide one possible source of information about those who joined the Church but those published between 1847 and 1854 mention only ten of 369 identified members.¹⁴⁷ Of course, the directories include only

those who belonged either to the gentry class – of whom none joined the Church – or who had businesses or professions, if only at a relatively humble level. Since only ten of the Buckinghamshire converts are included in the latter category; the remaining 359 must have come from the labouring classes, whether skilled or unskilled.

The Mormon Immigration Index provides another source of information on social and economic status. Some of the occupations of adult members, taken from the index, are displayed in Table 4. The largest single group of adult emigrants (45 percent) did not report an occupation. Of those who did, only 20 percent reported one that would have classified them as a 'skilled laborer.'¹⁴⁹ It is

TABLE 4 Occupations of Buckinghamshire Emigrants¹⁴⁸

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Unknown	75	42%
Labourer	22	12%
Spinster	19	11%
Wife	19	11%
Shoemaker	7	4%
Widow	4	2%
Farmer	3	2%
Artist, Baker, Barman, Basket Maker, Blacksmith, Bookkeeper, Brick Layer, Brick maker, Carpenter, Child, Draper, Driver, Gardener, General Dealer, Green Grocer, Milkman, Millwright, Miner, Minister, Pipe Maker, Plaiter, Shepherd, Watchman	Either 1 or 2 people listed each of these	Remaining 16%, but all of them less than 1% by themselves. These were the 'skilled laborers.'
Totals	179	100%

important to note that the Mormon Immigration Index does not cover all who went to America. Furthermore, the information is 'skewed' by the fact that, for obvious reasons, those who did not emigrate are excluded. There were clearly some who were too poor to emigrate and hence the proportion of really poor people among the Mormon converts could have been even higher.

As shown in Table 4, of the 369 members on record, evidence could only be found documenting the emigration of 179, or 49 percent. Missionary correspondence suggests that poverty was a major factor in delaying or preventing emigration. On 4 February 1863, Elder Joseph Bull wrote:

In this conference, as well as in many others, the Saints are poor as in regards to the goods of this life... Though surrounded by poverty and hard task-masters, with their attendant train of trying circumstances... many are looking forward with eager anxiety for the emigration season to open, that they may gather to the bosom of the Church. That they may do so, nothing is being left untried on their part which will help them to accomplish this so-much-desired object. Several, who have struggled with poverty for years, will have the privilege of emigrating themselves with their own means, having a rigid economy saved out of their weekly pittances, through years of struggling, sufficient to accomplish the much-desired object.¹⁵⁰

This letter highlights several important points: (a) the impoverished condition of many of the Saints, (b) their near-universal desire to emigrate to Utah, and (c) the necessity for Saints to save for their own travel, instead of relying on charitable assistance.

Elder R. F. Neslen explained the difficulty facing

the Saints seeking to acquire the resources needed for emigration: 'Saturday, March 24, [1871] found me visiting among the saints in Stony Stratford and Deanshanger. In these places I found the saints rejoicing in the work, and hoping fervently that their way of deliverance might be shortly opened. They seemingly have not gotten discouraged concerning gathering yet, although, so far as their own means is concerned, their prospects are not much brighter than they were when I became acquainted with them in 1855.'¹⁵¹ Later in 1871, however, Elder George W. Wilkin, also writing from Stony Stratford, noted: 'The Saints, as a general thing, are poor to this worlds goods, but the greater portion of them are rich in faith. Quite a number have emigrated since my arrival, and many more are expected to go this season.'¹⁵² Despite their poverty, some gradually acquired sufficient money. On 29 October 1873, more than two years after Elder Wilkin wrote, Elder Robert W. Heyborne reported, also from Stony Stratford: 'We have been able to emigrate 40 persons from the Conference for Utah. Considering the small number in the conference, and the impoverished condition of most of the saints, I feel highly satisfied.'¹⁵³ He wrote again on 23 April 1874: 'Considering the impoverished condition of the many of the saints through their limited wages, they are doing well in saving means for emigration, which will enable them, at no very distant future, to affect their deliverance.'¹⁵⁴ Table 5 indicates the percentage of members who emigrated based on all known sources of information.

Stories from the personal diaries of these saints give added insight into the conditions they were up against. For example, Charlotte Johnson, widow of Benjamin Johnson, was left with the responsibility of raising nine children aged between two and sixteen.¹⁵⁵ Before he died, Ben-

TABLE 5 Percentage of Members Who Emigrated from 19th Century Branches

<i>Branch Name</i>	<i>Date Organized</i>	<i>Total Membership</i>	<i>(#) and % Emigrated</i>
Edlesborough	April 1, 1849	163	(77) 47%
Simpson	April 1, 1849	38	(29) 76%
Wooburn	August 22, 1850	30	(13) 43%
Aylesbury	March 7, 1852	35	(17) 49%
Various others	1842 on	103	(43) 42%
Totals		369	(179) 49%

jamin gathered his family around him and said to Charlotte: 'Mother, when you sell what little property we possess and pay off our debts you will have enough money to take you and the children to Utah. So after I die you take our family and to Utah where you can live with the Saints and enjoy the blessings there.'¹⁵⁶ Following her husband's wishes, Charlotte sold their property and sent the necessary money to the Mission Office, entrusting it to a missionary going to Liverpool and then on to America. He agreed to open an account in her name with the Emigration Fund. However, when the missionary got to Liverpool, he kept the money for himself and took it to California. After waiting eleven years to recoup her money, she had no hope of emigrating. To her surprise, Elder Franklin D. Richards, President of the British Mission, who had been made aware of her situation, made arrangements for the Johnson family to emigrate, which they did in 1868.

There are also stories of extraordinary generosity. When Sister Ann Austin of Frithsden read in the *Millennial Star* that part of the ship *Minnesota* had been chartered for Mormon emigrants, she decided that this was the vessel that would take her family to America. Unfortunately, the Austins did not have the money. Not long before the *Minnesota* was due to depart Bartel Turner, a neighbour from Ivinghoe, surprised them by offering to lend them the money to emigrate. At first Brother Austin hesitated to accept this generous offer, but finally became convinced that his family's prayers were being answered in a miraculous way. As a result of Brother Turner's generosity, John and Ann Austin and their ten children sailed from Liverpool, on 22 June 1868.¹⁵⁷

Recent converts were not alone in their struggle to raise sufficient funds to emigrate. Expected to proselytize on the New Testament model, without 'purse or scrip',¹⁵⁸ full-time missionaries were almost completely reliant on charitable offerings for their daily sustenance, as well as sufficient funds for emigration. One historian noted a 'systematic fund-raising was undertaken in behalf of elders returning to Zion ... Local converts who spent their full time in the ministry were not always so fortunate... but they were usually able at least to borrow the means to emigrate.'¹⁵⁹ This appears to be the case with the missionaries who served in Buckinghamshire. Elder Job Smith wrote about his fund-raising efforts for the returning American

missionary, John Spiers: 'Having walked thither the two previous days.... In all of these places I asked the Saints to raise funds to assist Elder Spiers to emigrate, as he was liberated to return to the valley.... I therefore labored faithfully to render him assistance. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday visited the branches of Luton, Hensworth, and Eaton Bray, holding meetings and raising funds for Br. Spiers.'¹⁶⁰ The collection began on 24 October 1851 and Spiers emigrated by 10 January 1852. However, when Elder Thomas Squires, a local convert who served as a full-time missionary for 'many years' expressed a desire to emigrate, he had to wait longer, although means for his emigration were eventually provided. His life sketch records: 'Finally the authorities of the Church... gave him the privilege of emigrating to Zion. The conference over which he presided furnished the means to defray the expenses of the journey.'¹⁶¹

Table 6 shows the percentage of the total population of villages and towns who were members of the Church – and is based on the 1851 British Census returns¹⁶² and branch records previously cited.¹⁶³ It is important to note, however, that (a) not all towns and villages are represented because many had no Church members who either lived or were born there, (b) there were many members of the Church for whom information as to place of birth or residence is not recorded, (c) many members of the Church, particularly in the Edlesborough Branch, cite a town or village outside Buckinghamshire as their place of birth, and (d) membership records are inconsistent in that some include place of birth, others place of residence, and some neither. Of the 369 recorded members of the Church with ties to Buckinghamshire, 207 fall into one of the following categories: (a) documented residents of Buckinghamshire who attended a Buckinghamshire branch; (b) attendees of a branch located in Buckinghamshire who were not residents or natives of Buckinghamshire, or (c) attendees of branches outside of Buckinghamshire but natives or residents of the county.

The village with the highest percentage of members of the Church was Sherington (3.4 percent) where the Church in Buckinghamshire had its beginnings. Walton was a close second, with 3.2 percent of the total population joining the Church. Interestingly, Sherington and Walton are near each other and these members would have belonged to the Simpson Branch, which also had the highest

TABLE 6 Percentage of the Total Population who were Members of the Church

<i>Location</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Total Members</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Addington	71	1	1.4%
Aylesbury	6043	11	0.2%
Buckingham	3390	7	0.2%
Buckland	661	3	0.5%
Cheddington	639	3	0.5%
Cuddington	623	1	0.2%
Denham	1062	2	0.2%
Dorney	355	11	3.1%
Claydon(s)	1395	2	0.1%
Edlesborough	1558	14	0.9%
Eton	3796	9	0.2%
Fawley	254	1	0.4%
Fenny Stratford	860	1	0.1%
Frithsden	269	1	0.4%
Great Brickhill	729	1	0.1%
Great Horwood	834	2	0.2%
Great Missenden	2096	18	0.9%
High Wycombe	7178	2	less than 0.1%
Ivinghoe	1894	9	0.5%
Marsh Gibbon	944	1	0.1%
Marsworth	463	1	0.2%
Milton Keynes	317	1	0.3%
Monks Risborough	1064	1	less than 0.1%
Mursley	553	2	0.4%
Newport Pagnell	3651	3	less than 0.1%
North Crawley	914	5	0.5%
Northall	496	4	0.8%
Olney	2331	13	0.6%
Padbury	660	2	0.3%
Pitstone	427	1	0.2%
Princes Risboro	2318	2	less than 0.1%
Sherington	384	13	3.4%
Simpson	540	7	1.3%
Slapton	317	2	0.6%
Stewkley	1432	7	0.4%
Stony Stratford	1757	4	0.2%
Turville	436	2	0.5%
Walton	95	3	3.2%
Weedon	793	1	0.1%
Wing	1376	2	0.1%
Winslow	1805	3	0.2%
Wolverton	2070	8	0.4%
Wooburn	2025	20	1.0%
<i>Total</i>	60875	207	0.3%

emigration rate (76 percent). Dorney, in the southern extreme of Buckinghamshire, had 3.1 percent of its total population on the records of the Church. However, these members did not attend a Buckinghamshire branch, but rather the one based at Windsor. The only other places with more than one percent church members were Addington and Simpson – whose members would have also attended the Simpson Branch – and Wooburn Green, whose members constituted the Wooburn Branch. All other towns had less than one percent of their total population recorded as members of the Church in 1851, the only census year that coincides with all extant church records.

The paucity of existing church, emigration, and other records makes it impossible to know exactly how many people from Buckinghamshire 'escaped Babylon' to help build 'Zion'. Today the LDS Church no longer expects membership to emigrate and there are five 'lively' congregations in Aylesbury, High Wycombe, Leighton Buzzard, Milton Keynes and Bletchley. Members embrace the same faith and revelations that came to Buckinghamshire natives over one hundred and fifty years ago. The only difference is that Saints are now expected to stay in their own countries and to build 'Zion' wherever they live.

NOTES

1. The departure of a Mormon emigrant ship from London was something of a rarity. It had been intended that the emigrants should leave from Liverpool, the more usual port of embarkation. In the words of the *Millennial Star*:

'Indeed, the chartering of this vessel was not a matter of choice but of necessity. We could not obtain a vessel in the port of Liverpool suitable to our purpose – vessels of this description being almost unprecedentedly scarce this spring, and we were, therefore, compelled to go to London.'

It was only shortly before the *Amazon* was due to depart that the party learned of a prophecy made some years earlier by Elder Eli B Kelsey. At a public meeting in London, he had predicted 'ships should yet leave that port filled with Saints emigrating to Zion'. 'Thus were circumstances overruled to bring to pass the fulfillment of the words of a servant of God!' ('The Last Ships of the Season,' *Millennial Star*; June 20, 1863, 395).
2. Charles Dickens, *The Writings of Charles Dickens: With Critical and Bibliographical Introductions and Notes by Edwin Percy Whipple and Others* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), 27:202.
3. 'The Last Ships of the Season,' *Millennial Star*; June 20, 1863, 395–96.
4. Mormon Immigration Index (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000), available on-line at the Family History Library, Salt Lake City.
5. *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, containing the revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith, with some additions by his successors in the Presidency of the Church*, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 29:8. This revelation was received in September of 1830, just five months after the organization of the Church.
6. See, for example, Sam Hamerman, 'The Mormon Missionaries in England, 1837–1852,' (MA Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1937), 33–34, 38, 44, 46–47 and Norman Hill, 'The Trumpet to Zion: Mormon Conversion and Emigration in Britain,' *Tangents* 3(Spring 1975):64.
7. *The Doctrine and Covenants*, 133:7–10. This revelation was received in November 1831, and pre-dated any missionary activity in England.
8. P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 122.
9. Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, 122, 144.
10. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, April 6, 1841, 222–23.
11. See 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, June 1, 1861, 349 and April 6, 1841, 222.
12. See 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, February 16, 1861, 111 and March 23, 1861, 190–191.
13. The term 'Mormon' is the most frequently used reference to both the Church and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, probably because of the book of scripture these Christians embrace, in addition to the Holy Bible, entitled 'The Book of Mormon.' The book takes its name from a man named Mormon, who was an ancient prophet-

- historian who abridged one thousand years of the religious history of the natives of the American Continent (600 BC through 400 A.D.).
14. 'History of Brigham Young,' *Millennial Star*, March 4, 1865, 135.
 15. Heber Chase Kimball, *Journal of Heber C. Kimball, an elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of latter day saints: giving an account of his mission to Great Britain, and the commencement of the work of the Lord in that land* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Robinson and Smith, 1840), 20.
 16. 'History of Brigham Young,' 135.
 17. Samuel George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: S. George Ellsworth, 1987), 20.
 18. Manuscript History of the Bedfordshire Conference, CR mh 607, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
 19. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8–10, FHL.
 20. Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.
 21. *Box Elder lore of the nineteenth century* (Brigham City, Utah: Box Elder Chapter, Sons of Utah Pioneers, 1951), 75.
 22. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 1169.
 23. 'Samuel Smith and Mary Ann Line Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 2CGD-XQ and BQ58-RF, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.
 24. Calvin N. Smith, *The History of Samuel Smith of Sherington, England, His Five Wives and their Posterity*, accessed online, <http://reepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~rhutch/famhistory/d&ssmith/samuel_smith_history_long.html>, July 23, 2007, 4.
 25. Elsie May Smith Larsen, *History of Samuel Smith*, accessed online, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~rhutch/famhistory/d&ssmith/samuel_smith_history.html>, August 2, 2007.
 26. Smith, *The History of Samuel Smith of Sherington*, accessed online, July 23, 2007, 4.
 27. Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, 'The First London Mormons, 1840–1845,' (MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), 48.
 28. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
 29. 'Daniel Williams Smith and Sarah Wooding Smith Family Record,' ancestral file numbers 1FR9-CF and 1FR9-DL, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, July 23, 2007.
 30. Joining the Mormon faith consists of receiving two ordinances: baptism by immersion, following the New Testament model of Jesus' baptism by John in the Jordan River, and an ordinance referred to as 'confirmation,' following the Apostles bestowing the 'gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands' as recorded in Acts 8:15–17.
 31. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8–10, FHL.
 32. Larsen, *The History of Samuel Smith*, accessed online, August 2, 2007.
 33. 'George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.
 34. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8–10, FHL.
 35. Robert Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, call no. BX 8670.1 .H664h, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
 36. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
 37. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 814.
 38. 'George Coleman and Elizabeth Bailey Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 1FFH-ZB and 1FFJ-0G, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, May 5, 2007.
 39. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8–10, FHL.
 40. Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 15.
 41. Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 11.
 42. Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion*, 7.
 43. See Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8–10, FHL.
 44. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
 45. 'General Conference,' *Millennial Star*, April 1844, 195.

46. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
47. 'George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, accessed online, <family-search.org>, April 17, 2007.
48. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.
49. Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire*, 111.
50. See Edlesborough Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12 and Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12, FHL.
51. See 'History of Brigham Young,' 135.
52. Reed, *A History of Buckinghamshire*, 117.
53. Data obtained online, <<http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/occupations/straw-plait.htm>>, July 25, 2007.
54. See Luton Branch Record, Film no. 87106, Items 17-20, FHL.
55. 'Conference Minutes - London,' *Millennial Star*, May 15, 1848, 148.
56. Edlesborough Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
57. Ordinance Survey plan, 6-inch scale, Buckinghamshire sheet XXV.SW [i.e. 25 SW], 2nd edition, Archives, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, Buckingham, England.
58. See Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, call no. BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, BYU. Elder Hodgert records that a decision was made at the January 5, 1850 Special General Conference in Liverpool to move the 'Eaton Bray' Branch to the Bedfordshire Conference. However, official notes from that conference in 'Special General Conference,' *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1850 refer to the same branch as the 'Eddlesbro' branch.
59. Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
60. Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, FHL.
61. See Eaton Bray Branch Record, or Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
62. John Paternoster Squires, *Diary Excerpts, 1848-1900*, MSS 976, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.
63. Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.
64. Wayne Rollins Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson, 3 June 1774-9 Oct. 1934*, (Centerville, Utah: W. R. Hansen, 1993), call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, 25 and 33.
65. Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 25.
66. See Eaton Bray Branch Record; Film no. 86996, Item 12. Note: Eaton Bray is less than 1 mile from their first residence in Northall, only 1 mile from their second residence in Totterhoe, and just over three miles from their residence in Whipsnade.
67. Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
68. Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 28. See also Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography, 1849-1877*, call no. MSS 881, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
69. British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, Whipsnade Branch, London Conference, Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 6, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
70. Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 30.
71. Eaton Bray Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
72. Whipsnade Branch Record altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
73. Edward Legg, ed., *Buckingham Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*, (Aylesbury, England: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1991), 45-46.
74. Beryl Wagstaff, *The Romance of Edlesborough*, (Edlesborough, England: Carrie Cardon Lovell), 31.
75. From an interview with the publisher of *The Romance of Edlesborough*, Carrie Cardon Lovell, at her home in Edlesborough, April 28, 2007.
76. See Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849,

- Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL. See also Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 363–365 for a list of persons baptized, confirmed, and ordained to priesthood offices by Benjamin Johnson.
77. See Eaton Bray Branch Record, or Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
78. For example, while the elders were confirming Thomas Squires, they ordained him an elder 'before taking off their hands.' In John Paternoster Squires, *Notes of interest to the descendants of Thomas Squires*, (Salt Lake City: Eva Beatrice Squires Poleman, 1970): 139.
79. Whipsnade Branch Record, altered to Edlesborough Branch Record on April 1, 1849, both found on Film no. 86996, Item 12, FHL.
80. See Eaton Bray Branch Record; Film no. 86996, Item 12. See also Studham Branch Record, Film no. 87035, Items 10–11, FHL. It is important to note that some of these individuals' church membership records were later transferred to the Edlesborough Branch; Benjamin Johnson baptized a total of 36. See, Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, Family History Library, 30.
81. See Eaton Bray Branch Record, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Studham Branch Record, Film no. 87035, Items 10–11; See also Kensworth Branch Record, Film no. 87007, Items 10–12, FHL.
82. Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert*, BX 8670.1 .H664h, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.
83. 'Special General Conference,' *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1850, 26–27.
84. See British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, 'Eddlesborough Branch, London and Bedfordshire Conference,' Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 2, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. There is no mention of this branch after 1850 in the *Millennial Star* or any other public or private document cited in this work.
85. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL. See also Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847–1868, Database, accessed online, <<http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>>, April–July, 2007.
86. 'George and Elizabeth Cheshire,' Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
87. Dickens, *The Writings of Charles Dickens*, 27:202.
88. See 'Conference Minutes,' *Millennial Star*, August 15, 1847, 247.
89. Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11–12, FHL.
90. Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11–12 FHL.
91. Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography, 1849–1877*, call no. MSS 881, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT., 123.
92. Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 123.
93. Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 178.
94. Job Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 186.
95. Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11–12, FHL.
96. Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11–12, FHL.
97. Simpson Branch Record, Film no. 87032, Items 11–12, FHL.
98. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
99. See <http://historytogo.uth.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/georgesutherland.html>, accessed April 23, 2007.
100. British Mission, Manuscript History and historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Film no. LR 1140/2, Reel 6, Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
101. Newbury Branch Record, Film no. 87020, Items 17–20, FHL.
102. Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.
103. Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.
104. British Mission historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.
105. See Newbury Branch Record, Film no. 87020, Items 17–20, and Wooburn Branch Record, Film no. 87039, Item 10, FHL.
106. British Mission historical reports, Wooburn

- Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.
107. See Edward Legg, ed., *Buckingham Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*, (Aylesbury, England: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1991).
108. *Mussen and Craven's Commercial Directory of the County of Buckinghamshire*, (Nottingham, England: Stevenson and Company, 1853), 90. Information obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan of Wooburn Green.
109. *Mussen and Craven's Commercial Directory*, 99.
110. The building which was crucial to establishing the site of Calico Square and the building the census taker went into after leaving Calico Square was the 'Anchor' public house rather than the Red Lion. The 'Anchor' is now a private dwelling called 'the Anchor House'. The Red Lion was also useful in establishing the position of the 'Anchor' public house because it is still externally labeled such. I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence Linehan for making the painstaking efforts to calculate this using the 1861 census returns and period maps of Wooburn Green.
111. Wooburn Green, Buckinghamshire County, England, 1851 British census, record H.O. 1071719; Wooburn Green, Buckinghamshire County, England, 1861 British census, record R.G. 9/857.
112. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 696.
113. The home is referred to as 'Clematis Cottage,' reference number SU 98 NW, 6/180 in the historical site index. The 'Department of the Environment List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, Borough of High Wycombe, Bucks' was published by the Department of the Environment under the terms of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1984 in London. A version of the list, updated in February 1989, is in High Wycombe Reference Library, which I visited on 4 August, 2007. The list shows that the building at 36 on The Green is not a later replacement - it can only be the building where the Reverend Wiscombe was a guest of the Hancocks in 1861. Information obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan.
114. Francis Busted Ashley, *Pen and Pencil Sketches - a retrospect of nearly Eighty Years, including about twelve in the artillery and Fifty in the Ministry of the Church of England by Nemo [i.e. Francis Busted Ashley]*, (London: Nisbet, 1889), 158-160. This information was also obtained from Mr. Lawrence Linehan.
115. Francis Busted Ashley, *Mormonism: an exposure of the impositions adopted by the sect called 'The Latter-day Saints'*, (London: J. Hatchard, 1851).
116. Ashley, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 160.
117. See Craig L. Foster, *Penny tracts and polemics: a critical analysis of anti-Mormon pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837-1860*, (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 221-234. The author of this article checked each reference on the list provided by Mr. Foster against *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, vols. 5-6, Reel 3, World Microfilms Publications Ltd.
118. See, for example, 'Mormonism' and 'The Crisis of Mormonism,' *Bucks Free Press*, June 5, 1857 and 'More News about the Mormons,' *Bucks Free Press*, May 21, 1858. These newspaper articles were also provided by Mr. Lawrence Linehan.
119. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, September 17, 1872, 603.
120. 'Home Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, February 21, 1876, 124.
121. Bruce Van Orden, 'The Decline in Convert Baptisms and Member Emigration from the British Mission after 1870,' *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987):103-104.
122. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL. See also Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868 Database, accessed online, <<http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>>, April-July, 2007.
123. 'William Sheppard Beesley and Susannah Edwards Beesley Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 1H79-D3 and 1H79-F8, accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007. Not only do their names not appear on the Mormon Immigration Index or the Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel Database, their family group record indicates they both died in England.

124. British Mission historical reports, Wooburn Green, London and Reading Conference, Church Archives.
125. 'Household of Henry and Esther Hancock,' 1880 United State Census Record, Liberty, Bear Lake, Idaho, Film No. 1254173, 98D, accessed online, <family search.org>, July 25, 2007.
126. 'Ebenezer and Sarah Hancock Beesley,' Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
127. Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:739.
128. *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 387.
129. *Hymns*, 404.
130. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 147-149.
131. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 156-158.
132. Aylesbury Branch Record, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16, FHL.
133. See Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 158.
134. 'George Smith and Caroline Harrison Family Group Record,' ancestral file numbers 1FRB-1T and 1TRV-PB, *Ancestral File*, version 4.19 (2007), accessed online, <familysearch.org>, April 17, 2007.
135. See Hemel Hempstead Branch Record, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10, and the Studham Branch Record Film no. 87035, Items 10-11, FHL.
136. Aylesbury Branch Record, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16, FHL.
137. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 179.
138. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 181.
139. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*, Special Collections, BYU, 185-186.
140. Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, 1847-1868 Database, accessed online, <<http://www.lds.org/churchhistory/library/pioneercompanysearch/1,15773,3966-1,00.html>>, April-July, 2007.
141. Ronald W. Walker, 'Edward Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon commonwealth,' *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 55-72.
142. Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
143. Myron Angel, *History of Nevada*, 633.
144. 'Died,' *Millennial Star*, July 10, 1893, 460.
145. Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:36.
146. Data included in Tables 1-4 was extracted from the following branch records: Aylesbury, Film no. 86976, Items 15-16; Bedford, Film no. 86798; Bromley, Film no. 86989, Items 1-8; Croydon, Film no. 86993, Items 8-14; Deptford, Film no. 86994, Items 7-9; Eaton Bray, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Edlesborough, Film no. 86996, Item 12; Finsbury, Film no. 86998, Items 12-14; Great Staughton, Film no. 87000, Item 15; Haggerstone, Film no. 87001, Items 5-6; Hemel Hempstead, Film no. 87002, Items 8-10; Holloway, Film no. 87003, Items 8-10; Kennington, Film no. 87007, Items 6-8; Kensworth, Film no. 87007, Items 10-12; Lambeth, Film no. 87008, Items 2-8; London, Film no. 87103; Luton, Film no. 87106, Items 17-20; Northampton, Film no. 87023, Items 2-3; Notting Hill, Film no. 87026, Item 6; Poplar, Film no. 87028, Items 1-3; Simpson, Film no. 87032, Items 11-12; Stoke Newington, Film no. 87001, Items 1-4; Studham, Film no. 87035, Items 10-11; Wellingborough, Film no. 87038, Items 5-8; Whetstone, Film no. 87038, Items 24-27; Windsor, Film no. 87038, Items 37-38; Wooburn, Film no. 87039, Item 10; and Woolwich, Film no. 87039, Items 16-18, FHL.
147. See 'William Savage, Millwright, Wooburn Green,' in *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 51; 'James Gough, Butcher, Aylesbury,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1765; 'William Read, Butcher, North Crawley,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1784; 'John Cheshire, Carpenter, Eddlesborough,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1787; 'Mr. Elizabeth Cheshire, Beer Retailer, Eddlesborough,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1847*, 1787; 'James Hall, boot and shoe maker and dealer, Aylesbury' and 'Joseph Taylor, boot and shoe maker, town crier, Aylesbury,' in *Musson and Craven's Commercial Directory of the County of Buckingham, 1853*, 11; 'William Bailey, shoemaker, Aylesbury,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854*, 72;

- 'William Harrowell, boot and shoe maker, Cheddington,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854*, 89; and 'Henry Box, tailor, Wooburn Green,' in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Buckinghamshire, 1854*, 155.
148. See Mormon Immigration Index, FHL.
149. 4% reported 'shoemaker,' together with the 16% skilled group.
150. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, 14 March, 1863, 173.
151. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, 18 April, 1871, 252.
152. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, 29 August, 1871, 555.
153. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, 4 November, 1873, 699.
154. 'Correspondence,' *Millennial Star*, 5 May, 1874, 283.
155. Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 31.
156. Hansen, *William, Benjamin and Joseph Thomas Johnson*, call no. 929.273 J63hw, FHL, 30.
157. See 'John Austin' in Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:114.
158. Richard L. Jensen, 'Without Purse or Scrip?: financing Latter-day Saint missionary work in Europe in the nineteenth century,' *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985):3-4.
159. Jensen, 'Without Purse or Scrip?,' 4-5.
160. Smith, *Diary and Autobiography*. Special Collections, BYU, 137-138.
161. Squires, *Notes of interest to the descendents of Thomas Squires*, 139.
162. 1851 British Census returns for each town or village in Buckinghamshire acquired online, <<http://www.familyhistoryonline.net/databases/BucksFHS1851.shtml>>, on July 5, 2007.
163. See note 127.